THE ENCLOSED REPRINT. . .

. . . is a supplement to this issue. It is an outstanding article by a leading Indian journalist and creative writer on J. P. Narayan and the current scene in India. Indians call Narayan "J.P.", just as we used to call Muste "A.J.". Like A.J. was, J.P. is a pacifist of unchallenged integrity to his opponents as well as to his supporters. Because of the tight economic situation, your editor has paid the cost of this reprint. Additional copies are available for 25¢.

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WRL NEWS

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THE WAR IS OVER . . . BUT WAR ISN'T

Photo by Karl Bissinger

The Sheep's Meadow in New York's Central Park, which in 1967 was the starting point of New York's biggest Vietnam protest demo (over 200,000 persons), was on May 11 the scene of a peace celebration attended by some 80,000 persons. It was organized by The War is Over Committee, a coalition of peace groups including WRL. Singers at the celebration included Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, Richie Havens, Phil Oaks and Odetta.

It may erupt at any moment in any part of the world—given U.S. foreign policy and the escalating world power struggle.

Organizations formed solely to oppose the Vietnam war will disband. But War Resisters League will pursue—as it has for the past half century—an ongoing campaign to outlaw war as a means of settling international disputes. In addition, WRL will work on the following urgent issues:

- To stop any U.S. move toward more Vietnams in other parts of the world.
- To win unconditional amnesty for all civilians and G.I.'s who refused to take part in the Vietnam war.
- To end the war in the Middle East which, though quiescent, may burst into full-fledged warfare at any moment over the oil issue.
- To ABOLISH the draft, not just end inductions.
- To make disarmament a reality.
- To refuse to pay taxes spent for armaments.
- To establish conscientious objection as a universal human right.
- To stop the militarization of our police forces and our society.

Will you join us in this effort?

ORGANIZING NOTES

by Ed Hedemann

WRL local groups across the country used "tax day", April 15, to continue protesting the Vietnam War, economic priorities (such as the B-1 bomber program), and to urge resistance to war taxes.

Seattle WRL began leafleting on tax resistance in March—on the IRS floor of the Seattle Federal Office Building! Their report continues . . ."it wasn't too long before a security guard appeared and threatened arrest if we didn't leave. We didn't leave. Perhaps it was their frustration over the following discussion that led to our being able to stay. We continued leafleting through April 15. On the evening of the 15th, seven of us went to the main post office where we poured our blood on tax forms in expression of sorrow over the suffering and death bought with U.S. tax dollars. Some blood spattered on the IRS mail sign; soon there were 7 police cars and 2 police on foot. After a vague threat of arrest and a discussion on the violence caused by U.S. policy, we leafleted until midnight under the watchful eyes of the Seattle Police Department."

On March 16 members of **Oak Park (Illinois) WRL** invaded local shopping mall with a petition asking the Oak Park Village Board of Trustees essentially to declare a universal unconditional amnesty. Unintentionally, we chose a day that the Illinois National Guard had chosen to display their wares. The National Guard members, a species of draft dodger, were friendly and even offered to sign our petitions. We received a good number of signatures but the success of the event was the visible alternative we offered to the drab green arm of the state.

Two weeks later on WRL's 52nd birthday, March 29, thirty-five people endured the bitter cold and wind to walk and rally for disarmament. One participant recalled a disarmament walk he had been on 20 years previously with his parents which had begun in Oak Park. WRL organizer, Lee Webster, reported that the walk lasted three hours following major highways and shopping areas. Many of the walkers wore names of Oak Park victims of World War I ("the war to end all wars") calling for an immediate end to war so that no more deaths will be in vain. A handbill dealing with the tax structure and its failure to serve human needs was handed to bystanders. Placards addressed such issues as amnesty, the B-1, ending aid to Thieu and Lon Nol, and peace conversion to meet human needs. The walk became a rally at Scoville Park to the rousing music of the Edgar Rice Burroughs Memorial String Band, and speeches by Brad Lyttle, Sid Lens, and representatives from the UFW, and the Union of Democratic Filipinos. Poems by Joffre Stewart and a few more songs ended a successful birthday party and rally.

Los Angeles WRL and Catholic Worker cosponsored a vigil in front of the new county jail April 2 which attracted nine hardy souls to brave the unseasonable cold and rain. A workshop led by Suzanne Snyder of Friends Outside was held inside a mock tiger cage. The vigilers set up a table serving coffee to visitors and just released prisoners. Conversations centered around prison, the continuing war, and war taxes.

Mandy Carter and Dave Lumian report that "Morris Kight astounded us all with his skill as an advocate of the disenfranchised. While leafleting with us, Morris encountered two families who were having problems with the prison bureaucracy. Morris was able to have one of the men released that day and the other the following day. His example was inspiring!"

WRL/West had an April Fool's Day burial of the Ford Clemency plan in San Francisco. About a dozen draft resisters, mothers of exiles, and veterans with honorable discharges threw clemency applications in a mock cardboard coffin symbolic of the Ford plan.

As 20 supporters with signs looked on, they all went through a ceremony of making statements about the clemency plan and tossing their forms into the coffin. A "People's marching band" was on hand to play appropriate funeral dirges, though that music turned to joyous melodies once the ceremony was completed. Steve Ladd reports that "we tried to deliver the coffin to the U.S. Attorney's office, but we were not allowed in the building, so a delegation of 2 people brought the forms (including 3 honorable discharges) up to the attorney's office. Media turnout was fantastic, with 5 TV stations, and numerous radio and newspaper reporters. One news story made fun of the fact that there were almost as many newspeople as protestors."

A few weeks before this WRL/West and many other Bay Area WRL members were involved in the UFW march on Gallo. There were 10 to 15,000 Farmworkers and supporters, chanting, singing and marching—some of them for 110 miles. WRL/West passed out 2000 "practice nonviolence" tags within a few minutes prior to the start.

Five members of the **Thomas Merton Unity Center/WRL**, Rick Hobbs, Charlie Jones, Scott Kennedy, Peter Klotz, and Dave L. Roque, were arrested for sitting in front of a polling booth. They were protesting the annexation election held to determine whether or not Isla Vista was to be annexed to Santa Barbara. The protestors felt this election violated the principle of self-government to allow Santa Barbara residents to vote on the issue.

South Central/WRL in Austin has been coordinating a campaign to free Vernon Obelgonner from Bexar County Jail in San Antonio. Vernon was convicted for draft evasion after returning from Canada last fall. He was denied a CO status 6 years ago and recently flunked his physical, but the government still seems bent on punishment. Vernon is currently out on appeal due to efforts of supporters.

WRL local group organizing efforts are going on in Hinckley (Maine), Brooklyn, mid-Manhattan, San Antonio, Dallas, and Madison among a number of other areas. Let us know if you would like a WRL local in your city.

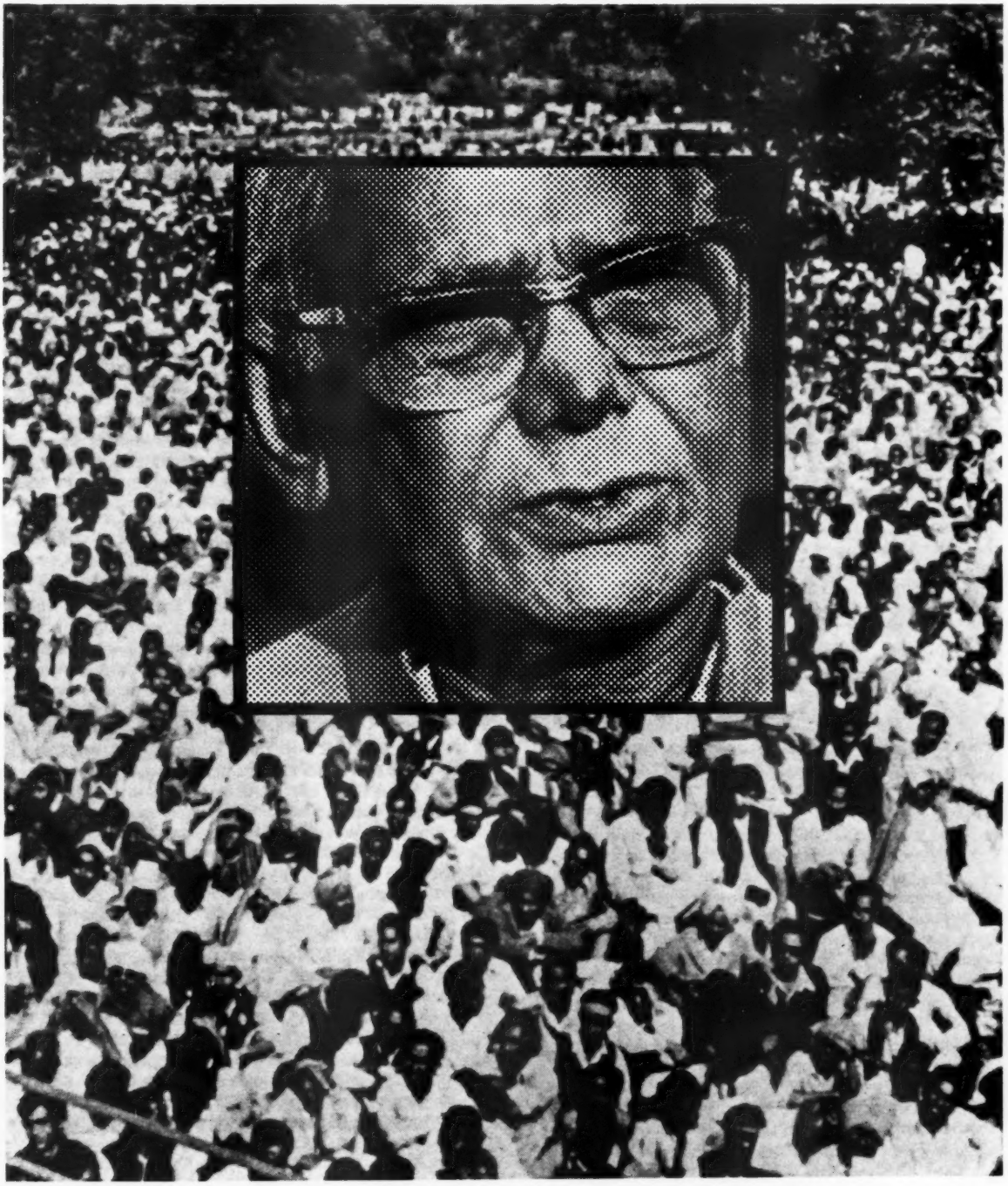
MAYAGUEZ DEMO

Photo by Karl Bissinger

Some 500 persons assembled in New York's Times Square on May 15 to protest a "diplomacy of violence" by the U.S. in response to the *Mayaguez* incident, which might well have resulted in resumption of the war in Southeast Asia. The demo was organized within 24 hours by a hastily-formed coalition including WRL.

A new wave from the old India

Out of the past comes J.P. Narayan,
a pacifist revolutionary, to tap the wells of India's discontent.



By Khushwant Singh

Khushwant Singh is a novelist and editor of The Illustrated Weekly of India.

NEW DELHI. A great multitude stretches away from a platform draped in the saffron, white and green colors of the Indian flag—men and women squatting on the ground, waiting. Against a canvas backdrop depicting a fiery sun rising over turbulent waves, a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi smiles down from the dais. A group of students sings into a microphone to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals.

Whichever way we look, it is darkness.
Light the lamps and show us the way!
Set ablaze the fires of revolution!
We will destroy the corrupt, the hoarders and the black-marketeers.
We will build a new India.

The song fades away in the surrounding hills. A jeep-load of armed police pulls up. A small car follows. A frail old man steps out. With the help of his walking stick, he slowly mounts the platform steps. A roar of welcome rises from the throng.

A student shouts into the microphone: *"Lok nayak!"* ("Leader of the people!") The crowd thunders back: *"Zindabad!"* ("Long may he live!")

"Inquilab!" ("Revolution!") yells the student.

"Zindabad!"

The cues and responses bounce back and forth, sending flocks of pigeons wheeling in the rays of the setting sun. The old man sits in an armchair by the microphone, a woollen scarf protecting him against the evening breeze. The mayor places a garland of flowers about his neck and presents him with a purse equivalent to about $12,600 from the citizens of Poona. More garlands and more purses are presented on behalf of student, worker and peasant organizations. Each time the crowd yells *"Lok nayak—zindabad! Inquilab—zindabad!"* Silence falls on the assemblage as the leader begins to speak.

"I do not go about setting fires all over the country—the fire is already smoldering under the rulers' seats. If I or the students are guilty, it is only of giving direction to the fire so that it does not destroy but purifies the country and renews it.

"Everything in the country is rotten. The system of education is outdated. The students don't see a ray of hope. The people are being crushed under the weight of high prices. There is corruption and bribery everywhere. Unemployment goes on rising. Countless children go to sleep without food."

In the gathering dusk, lights glimmer from Parvati's temple on a nearby hill. Temple bells begin to peal as the goddess is put to sleep for the night. The old man speaks of the injustices done to the untouchables by caste Hindus. He appeals to his listeners to give up wearing the sacred threads that are permitted to the three higher castes and to take another look at Hinduism, since the "total revolution" he proclaims is aimed at producing a casteless and classless society.

His voice falters. He explains that he is not as young as he used to be. (He is 72.) He thanks the people for coming in such numbers to hear him. Joining the palms of his hands, he takes his leave. The crowd breaks into another roar. "Long live Jaya Prakash Narayan!"

■

A huge procession surges through New Delhi along a route heavily guarded by police and security troops. The Government has canceled train and bus service from neighboring areas in a last-minute attempt to whittle down the long-scheduled "March on Parliament," but the size of the demonstration is estimated at between 100,000 and 300,000—men and women from all states of the union of India, the biggest anti-Government outpouring in years. Interspersed through the crowd are leaders of opposition parties riding in jeeps, surrounded by slogan-chanting bands. In the center of the procession, as though carried along by the human mass, the old man sits atop a carnation-covered car, waving at the tens of thousands lining the streets. All around him is the great cry: *"Jaya Prakash—zindabad!"* He weeps. A youth holds a black umbrella over his head to shield him from the sun.

At a rally on a field near Parliament, the "leader of the people" presents a "charter of demands" for such things as land distribution, election reforms and a change in the Government's "ruinous" economic policies. "Nearly 60 per cent of the population lives in conditions of semistarvation," the charter says. Among the demonstrators are thousands of Sikhs carrying 6-foot-long spears, unsheathed swords and placards reading: "Vacate the throne, the people have come."

■

Whether at the public meeting at Poona, a city 80 miles from Bombay, or at the protest march in New Delhi March 6, or at mass assemblies in Bombay and elsewhere in recent months, Jaya Prakash Narayan has loomed suddenly over the Indian political scene like a figure out of the past—the years of independence struggle and state-building with which his name is associated—to castigate the leaders of the new India for what has befallen the nation entrusted to their hands.

"Not since the days of Mahatma Gandhi," said Minoo Masani, onetime Parliamentary leader of the conservative Swatantra party, "have so many people come to hear anyone speak. This man's record of credibility is unmatched. He is the best, and perhaps the last, hope of democracy in India."

Rajni Patel, a power in the ruling Congress party, disagrees. "It is you journalists who exaggerate his following. He has been talking and acting as if he is Garibaldi, Lenin and Mahatma Gandhi all rolled into one. As days go by and frustration sets in in his camp, it is becoming evident that J.P.'s movement is turning into a futile exercise."

As these comments suggest, opinion about J. P., as he is commonly called by English-speaking Indians, is sharply divided among the politicians, the political observers and the educated generally.

The establishment and its supporters denounce him as an irresponsible rabble-rouser out to destroy representative government. His admirers acclaim him as a redeemer come to save democracy from the increasingly despotic misrule of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi* and her ministers and the Moscow-oriented Communist party she has accepted as a junior partner in her Government. Each side accuses the other of inclining toward fascism. Wherever the truth may lie, there is only one explanation for the stir created by the re-emergence from retirement of the lonely, brooding, contradictory, ailing disciple of Mohandas Gandhi, once a potential Prime Minister but now too far advanced in years, by usually accepted standards, for credible candidacy for any such role.

The people had almost forgotten about him. But in the past two years, as economic conditions worsened, prices of essential goods soared, hunger spread and corruption increased, all the pent-up resentments against Government bungling, red tape and arbitrary rule by ordinances exploded and found a voice in Jaya Prakash Narayan, the exemplar of the "old India," the one national figure who had never wanted anything for himself. The mystique of the selfless man of virtue has grown around him. He is said to have spurned overtures suggesting that he be made a Cabinet Minister or President of the Congress party or that he be considered for the post of President of the Republic. And though he leads no party and refuses to let any of the opposition parties assume control of his movement, the opposition groups—ranging from the extreme-right Jan Sangh to the extreme-left Marxists (split off from the pro-Moscow Communists)—have been quick to identify themselves with him in the hope of ousting the nine-year-old Government of Indira Gandhi.

All this has generated enough pressure on the ruling Congress party to produce some cracks in its facade. A group of Young Turks critical of Communist infiltration of their party and Government favor opening a dialogue with J.P. One of them, Mohan Dharia, has been fired by Mrs. Gandhi as Minister for Works and Housing for espousing the idea publicly. The Prime Minister—the "Queen of New Delhi," as some of J.P.'s supporters call her—is among those who remain resolutely opposed to any understanding with the symbol of a movement that represents perhaps the biggest threat to her regime since her coming to power in 1966.

THE MOVEMENT

What is the "total revolution" the prophet preaches as the "beginning of a new chapter" for India? Narayan is chary of definitions. But from his speeches it is evident that he aims at a complete overhaul of political, economic, social and religious values. His chief targets are the state legislatures — principally, to start with, that of his home state, Bihar, among the worst-governed of them all. "My friends," he wrote in an "open letter" to the members of the Bihar Legislative Assembly, "though the 1972 general elections appointed you as representatives of the people, you have completely exhausted your mandate and deprived yourselves of the right to represent the people any longer." He called on them to respond to his call for dissolution of the legislature and adoption of election reforms under which campaign spending would be curbed, candidates would be elected from lists drawn up by village councils on the basis of character rather than party, and "people's committees" would act as watchdogs at the polls and over the elected candidates' record in office.

How does Narayan propose to gain acceptance for such ideas—what he calls his goal of "good government and a better form of democracy"? His program of action is one of moral suasion on a mass scale. He calls on his followers to engage in *gherao* (laying siege), *dharna* (sit-ins) and protest fasts. He has exhorted the sons and daughters of corrupt officials, businessmen and big farmers to undertake 12-hour fasts in their own homes to make their elders change their ways. While asking the people to "face *lathis* (police sticks) and bullets, fill the jails and suffer their properties to be attached," he has warned against any retaliation or recourse to violence. "Arson and loot do not make a revolution," he says. "We must return to Gandhi."

His fidelity to the Gandhian principle of nonviolence notwithstanding, his movement has generated an atmosphere of disregard for law and order and caused many ugly incidents to take place. In Gujarat, students went on a rampage of rioting, beating up some of the members of the State Assembly, reducing local government to a state of paralysis and forcing the authorities to give in to their demand for dissolution of the legislature. Although Narayan has disowned their form of action, it remains an example for others to emulate, most pointedly in Bihar. Demonstrations and counterdemonstrations in that state have led to riots; the offices of the English-language papers The Searchlight and the Indian Nation, which supported Narayan, were burned down; 10 persons were killed in clashes with police. Narayan himself was once roughed up by the police, and attempts are alleged to have been made on his life. The murder last January of the Railway Minister, Lalit Mishra, during inauguration of a branch line in Bihar brought a resolution from the Congress party accusing Narayan of unleashing a "cult of violence, intimidation and coercion"—to which his supporters replied with innuendoes that Mishra had been disposed of by Government agents because, as the central figure of an import-license scandal, he had become an embarrassment to the Government and knew too much. Soon afterwards, handwritten leaflets distributed by unknown persons in Bihar characterized the Mishra "incident" as "the first effective attack by armed revolutionaries on the status quo and the corrupt administrative machinery." The leaflets concluded with a dire warning to Mrs. Gandhi: "Give up repressive measures or die the death not of a martyr but of a *papi* (sinner)."

Apart from the opposition

Helpmates: J. P. and his wife, Prabhavati (she died in 1973).

parties and whoever else may be seeking to use his movement as a vehicle for their own ends, how much of a national following does Narayan have? In Bihar, he claims, 90 per cent of the people are for him, and certainly he is strongest in his home state. Elsewhere in the country his strength varies with the measure of discontent against the Government. A majority of the students support him, and so do a good number of civil servants. He has not made much of an impression on peasants' and workers' organizations. The trade unions, largely controlled by the Communists or the Congress party, have ignored his calls for strikes. At most of his meetings, I noticed, a sizable section of the audience converses in English, which is spoken by no more than 3 per cent of the population. If he is leading a revolution, it is a middle-class one. But there are also some industrialists among his following, the most prominent one being Ramanath Goenka, independent member of Parliament and owner of the Express chain of newspapers, which publishes J.P.'s English-language Everyman's Weekly. Fundamentally, his movement rests on his own personality, his use of language, which appeals both to the alienated intellectual and the unhappy man in the street. He has no lieutenants to take his place. "The day J.P. dies, and he is a sick man," said a member of Parliament close to Mrs. Nehru, "his total revolution will collapse totally."

That may be so, and there is some truth to the criticism that his movement is a conglomeration of opportunistic elements with little in common save their dislike of Mrs. Gandhi; some of his most vociferous supporters, incongruously enough, are discredited politicians found guilty of corrupt practices by commissions of inquiry. Yet, for the present, he is very much alive, and his movement is a growing force of unpredictable potential. In India, elections are won on the image of the leader and on slogans. In the 1971-72 elections, Mrs. Gandhi's prestige as the victor of Bangladesh was at its zenith. She gave the country the slogan *Garibi Hatao* (Banish Poverty) and swept the polls with what came to be described as the "Indira Wave." Since then, poverty has increased, and with it corruption, smuggling, hoarding and black-marketeering. Her image has been eroded; her popularity, according to the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, has dropped to an all-time low. At the same time, Narayan, emerging as the conscience-keeper of the nation on whom has fallen the mantle of Mahatma Gandhi, has offered the slogan *Brashtachar Mitao* (Wipe Out Corruption). Most observers agree that the possibility of a "J. P. Wave" inundating Indira Gandhi and her Congress Government in the general elections in the spring of 1976 can no longer be ruled out.

THE REFORMER AT WORK

I first met J.P. in the home of Minoo Masani in the summer of 1960. He was a strikingly handsome man, tall, sinewy, his hair graying at the temples. He wore coarse hand-spun clothes; his voice was as gentle as his speech His accent, both in English and in Hindustani, was that of a Westernized Oriental professor. There were several politicians present. The last to come was the Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur, a member of Parliament for the Swatantra party and a renowned beauty. She gestured to the others not to disturb the proceedings and sat down on the carpet near J.P.'s chair. He interrupted his discourse to remark, "A beautiful princess sitting at the feet of a commoner . . . This is indeed a revolution!"

I met him several times afterward, when he was championing causes few Indians would have dared to be associated with. He was in London at the invitation of The Observer to look into the charges of atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Indian Army against rebel Naga tribesmen in northeastern Assam. On his return to India he was met by a chorus of abuse for associating with treasonous elements, but it was due to his influence that 10 years of fighting between the Nagas and the Indian Army ended and a truce was signed. Thereafter he took up the case of the Kashmiri leader, Sheik Mohammed Abdullah, who had been kept in jail without trial for almost 11 years, accused of treasonable intercourse with foreign powers. Jaya Prakash was able to turn public opinion around in Abdullah's favor, and the "Lion of Kashmir" was released, and has since been appointed Chief Minister of Kashmir.

Even on the most delicate question of relations with Pakistan, it was Narayan who took the initiative in setting up an Indo-Pakistani conciliation group and going to Pakistan on a goodwill mission. Yet his resultant popularity in Pakistan did not inhibit him from criticizing the Pakistani Government when it launched its repression of the Bangladesh freedom movement.

In the summer of 1967, when Bihar was stricken by famine, I spent a few days with Jaya Prakash and his wife, Prabhavati, at his ashram (retreat) in a wilderness of wooded hills. Putting aside all other activities to devote himself to relief work, soliciting voluntary contributions in money, food grains and clothes from all over India, he was up while the stars still hung in the sky to deal with his enormous correspondence. With daylight, visitors came in shoals, bringing reports of drought conditions in the villages. He sent off volunteer workers with relief supplies and drove out every day to see for himself. He was infinitely patient and found it hard to ask his visitors to leave. That was left to Prabhavati. She would announce loudly that it was time for his lunch or dinner, and if the visitors did not take the hint, she would ask them bluntly to leave. J.P. would remonstrate mildly with her and get up with a sigh of resignation.

His mobilization of public concern and help for the victims of the Bihar famine was an important complement for the relief supplies, mainly of American origin, sent in by the Government, and morally it singled him out at a time when no Indian of note save the Prime Minister bothered to visit the anguished state. But the most spectacular application of his philosophy of good overcoming evil came in his pacification in 1972 of the dacoits of Madhya Pradesh. For more than 20 years, the dacoits, or gangs of murderous robbers, had been operating out of the ravines and jungles of that rugged central state, and repeated attempts to flush them out with troops and aerial bombardment had come to nought. Declaring that "any heart can be changed if the right approach is made," Narayan entered into parleys with the dacoits, telling them: "The only way you will earn peace of mind is by changing your lives and purifying yourselves." They agreed to come out if Jaya Prakash assured them of fair trials, which he was able to do, and 400 of them laid down their arms at his feet. Though charged with murder, they were spared death sentences and are serving terms of imprisonment.

Narayan has been less successful in his efforts to change the hearts of unprincipled businessmen and corrupt politicians. Between the businessmen and the dacoits, he found the former "more intractable," and when asked by a newspaperman whether the leader of the dacoit gangs should stand for Parliament after release from prison, he said, "He would not be in good company, because he would be a *reformed* dacoit."

A LONG LIFE'S JOURNEY

Jaya Prakash Narayan was born on Oct. 11, 1902, in the village of Sitabdiara in Bihar. His father was a petty official; he was the third of six children. They were Kyasthas, a subcaste of the Hindu trading community, and Jaya Prakash was able to attend

high school in Patna. A studious boy, he won a scholarship to the Patna university. But Mahatma Gandhi was calling on the students to give up their studies and join his movement of civil disobedience to the British raj, and Jaya Prakash renounced the scholarship two weeks before the final examinations and left high school at the age of 15 to marry Prabhavati, the daughter of an ardent nationalist.

In 1922 he took a cargo boat from Calcutta to San Francisco, determined to get a college education in the United States, but first working as a migrant fruit-picker in California. Unable to pay the tuition fees at Berkeley after one term of a science course, he transferred to Iowa State University, working in the Chicago stockyards and steel foundries during vacations, and moved on to the University of Wisconsin. "I fell in love with Wisconsin," he recalls. "It had a much prettier countryside than Iowa. I got on better in the American milieu. I went out with girls to parties and dances. They gave me an English name, Larry."

In Madison, J. P. turned from adolescent Indian nationalist to full-fledged Marxist. Coming under the influence of a Polish-Jewish emigrant, Avrom Landy, "a brilliant student, a poet and a Communist," he read Lenin, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky, and "I even plodded through some chapters of 'Das Kapital.'" He joined the Oriental Section of the Communist party of the United States and applied for admission to the Oriental University in Moscow, but was never able to earn the necessary $400 in passage money. After plodding from factory to factory looking for work, he got a job as a movie usher in Columbus, Ohio, and continued with his studies. In rapid order, he won a bachelor's degree, a scholarship, a graduate assistant's post at $900 a year, and an M.A. in behavioral sciences, scoring top marks in his final exams. He also got his first taste of alcohol and cigarettes. "The Mexican boys in Columbus used to make a brew out of pineapples. I never took to liquor, but I liked the taste of tobacco and became quite a heavy smoker." (He stopped soon after and has remained a teetotaller, nonsmoker and vegetarian ever since, but—a rarity in India—a nonpontificating one.)

Narayan's American phase came to an end in 1929, when news of his mother's illness brought him home. Back in Bihar, he plunged into Indian politics—and for an Indian Communist, in the context of the Stalinist break with united-front tactics, that meant opposing Gandhi. But the top Indian Communists sought out by Jaya Prakash were in jail, the second rung did not impress him and, during his seven-year absence, his wife, Prabhavati, had become a disciple of the Mahatma. She took him to Gandhi's ashram, and the meeting with his boyhood idol produced acute conflict in his mind. He had been persuaded by the writings of the Indian Communist M. N. Roy that Gandhi and his strategy of passive resistance were "finished," but Gandhi, with an insight into Narayan that was better than Narayan's own, said, "One day this man will speak my language." In 1930, Jawaharlal Nehru, elected president of the Indian National Congress party, prevailed on J. P. to take over the party's labor section. Two years later, J. P. became one of the secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee. At the same time the Congress party was declared illegal and he was jailed.

Still a Marxist, he joined other jailed radicals in denigrating Gandhi as a "primitive" and a mouther of "muddle-headed humanitarianism." Gandhi smiled on his young critics as "men in a hurry" and let them set up a Socialist group within the Congress party. With World War II and the German invasion of Russia, the Tolstoyan Gandhi, the Fabian Nehru and the Marxist-Leninist Narayan, shaken by the Muscovite *volte face* which converted an imperialist into a people's war, found themselves, all three, in British jails.

Holding on, in his confused state, to the goal of throwing off British rule, Narayan climbed over the prison wall with a rope made of prisoners' dhotis and threw himself into organizing an underground movement that harassed the British authorities with train wrecks, strikes, riots and sabotage. His name in India became a legend. And oddly enough, by the time he was caught and jailed again, his experience of violence, with the voice of the Mahatma still in his ears, had brought him around to the view that the use of force to gain one's ends was wrong. A free man in 1947—and India a free nation—Narayan was favored by Gandhi for the presidency of the National Congress, but Nehru, seeing a rival, blocked the proposal. After Gandhi's assassination, Nehru invited Narayan to join his Cabinet but Narayan declined. In 1953, after a three-week fast in Poona "to think it over," he publicly renounced Marxism. "It did not," he explained, "offer me an answer to the question: Why should a man be good?"

Jaya Prakash Narayan finally took the Gandhian path. He joined the *Sarvodaya* (Welfare of All) movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, with its appeal to landowners to give part of their land to the landless, and became an outspoken critic of Communist Governments. In 1956 he denounced the Soviet invasion of Hungary and, in 1959, the Chinese occupation of Tibet.

■

Bombay's Victoria Terminus was in its usual state of bedlam — people boarding and leaving trains, coolies (porters), vendors of aerated drinks, betel-leaves and cigarettes, beggars and others simply out for the *tamasha* (spectacle) of the thing. What was unusual was the omnipresence of armed police: They outnumbered all the rest. A small Fiat drew up; the police formed a cordon; the old man walked up the platform to his railway carriage.

I bowed. "You have more policemen to guard you than the Prime Minister."

He grabbed my hands to prevent me from touching his feet. "They do this to keep the people away from me."

It was January, 1975, and Jaya Prakash Narayan was on the road, in his latest and most unusual campaign. He had retired from public life in 1972, but economic conditions began to deteriorate at a dizzying speed, and the New Delhi Government, holding on to the emergency powers it had assumed during the 1971 war against Pakistan, deployed police and paramilitary units to contain civil unrest. The state governments began to govern by executive ordinances, bypassing the legislative process. In Bengal alone, some 20,000 persons have been detained for an indefinite period, without trial.

The first to revolt were the students in Gujarat. Students in other states launched similar movements. They needed a leader with an untarnished record. Narayan came out of retirement to lead them. So was born the movement for *chatra sakti* (student power), which grew into a bigger movement for *jana sakti* (power for the people).

Given special permission to accompany J.P. on his train ride, I noticed clusters of people on the platform waving to him as the train began to move. At a suburban stop, a crowd pressed forward to the railroad-car door with garlands of flowers. At a small town in the foothills, young boys and girls showered him with rose petals. At two other stations, there were more crowds and more flowers, an engine driver shunted off the line ran up to shake his hand and railway coolies crowded into his compartment to touch his feet. At a suburb of Poona, there was a tumultuous crowd of students and a stampede. J.P. gave the students a stern lecture on the importance of disciplined behavior.

It was all strangely reminiscent of the days when Gandhi toured the country with his gospel of nonviolent resistance to the British.

■

"Why is it," I asked Indira Gandhi, "that the Government has not been able to contain J. P.'s movement?"

"We have not made much effort to contain it," the Prime Minister replied. "We did not want a confrontation. We could have arrested him."

Yes, she admitted, the movement had "an element of protest" in it, and "there is plenty to grouse about." And she was willing, she said, to discuss electoral reforms, restrictions on the use of money in elections, and so on. But dismissal of legislative bodies under public pressure, as many in the movement demand? That would be "trying to make out that an elected majority has no meaning, and if the people persist in supporting certain policies, then the people are wrong. This is why I have called it a 'fascist' movement."

■

"His life," said Rafiq Zakaria, a senior Minister in the Maharashtra regional government, which includes Bombay, "has been a bundle of contradictions. In the last 30 years, J. P. has been consistent in only one thing: confessing his mistakes. His total revolution has no economic program, his following is a hodgepodge of anti-Congress parties with contradictory approaches to India's problems. He talks of saving democracy and in the same breath advocates that it be 'partyless.' The title most appropriate for J. P. is 'Mr. Confusion.'"

■

Jaya Prakash is alone now; the death of his wife, Prabhavati, in 1973, of cancer, deprived him of his beloved companion of 50 years. He himself underwent a prostate operation a year ago; he tires easily, and friends say he is often cranky and dispirited. The students, while willing to follow his political lead, ignore his moral appeal that they quit their studies until the educational system is reformed—as he and his student generation did in obedience to the Mahatma. At the same time, his own moral mentor, Bhave, who was Gandhi's closest disciple, has taken issue with him on ethical grounds, deploring his plunge into the political vortex.

In spite of all this, Narayan appears to have committed himself to a struggle whose end result, if it were to succeed, could make him potential Prime Minister in the 1976 elections. Unlikely as that prospect may seem for a man who is old and sick, has little real organization and is not a politician in the ordinary sense, many of his followers reason that he is the only man around with any chance of leading a successful challenge to the Congress party, and that even if he is Prime Minister for only a short while, he will have opened the road to others.

Narayan's best hope of unseating the Government lies in exploiting its own internal factionalism and differences, and it is significant that pressure from his movement is causing turmoil within the Congress party. There are many in the party who are sympathetic to Narayan, "the incorruptible," and to his warnings of the danger of Communist infiltration of the Government. It is not impossible that if Narayan's movement gains more ground as election time approaches, some of Indira Gandhi's ministers with ambitions of their own will be tempted to join his cause.

At the same time, it is unclear—and Narayan himself probably does not know—what form his movement will take, aside from stepped-up demonstrations in the state capitals and intensified mass pressure for the ouster of the state government in Bihar. He is trying to persuade the non-Communist opposition parties not to dissipate their strength by fighting each other but to form a united front against the Congress party and the pro-Moscow Communists at the polls. These tactics, to the extent that they have been tried, have had some success in several by-elections during the past year. If a real united front were to be formed, Mrs. Gandhi's expectations of a renewed election mandate would be jeopardized.

The odds are against Narayan. The Government and its Communist allies are far stronger than all the opposition parties combined. He is a one-man show, his program of decentralized government and "village democracy" remains vague, and he has made no major impact on the countryside. But India is in a critical state, the most critical in a long time, and conventional calculations could be proved very wrong. ■

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WRLers On
Where Do We Go After Vietnam?

by Jim Peck

The day after the Saigon surrender, a reporter called me at WRL–just like the day after the Paris Agreement in 1973–and asked whether the League is "going out of business." I gave the same reply as on that day two years ago: "The War Resisters League is not 'going out of business' until War goes 'out of business.' "

And that 'ain't' right now–unfortunately–because the basic foreign policies of the big powers, both capitalist and communist, are keyed to brinkmanship. War might erupt any time in any part of the world. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union continue to increase their gigantic stockpiles of nuclear and other ultra-modern war weapons. China is catching up rapidly. Other nations are acquiring nuclear knowhow, increasing the chances of a Dr. Stranglove's setting off a holocaust. We continue to live on the brink of a third world war which, with nuclear weapons, might mean total world destruction.

But, more immediately, we live on the brink of localized wars like Korea and Vietnam, magnified and prolonged by direct involvement of the big powers. In fact, if WRL had closed shop the day after the Saigon surrender, it could not have helped mobilize the May 15 Times Square protest demo over what could and might have been fullscale renewal of war in Southeast Asia. Just that, could well have resulted from America's "diplomacy of violence" in the Mayaguez incident, as New York Times Columnist Anthony Lewis aptly described it.

"Once again we have to show the world how tough we are," Lewis wrote. "The attitude of the teen-ager proving his manhood did not end with Richard Nixon's Presidency. Demonstrative violence is in fact a central element in Henry Kissinger's diplomatic philosophy. But how long must it be our country's?"

Certainly, for the foreseeable, immediate future. The U.S. now is the world's biggest seller of armaments. Today, the armaments industry is for the U.S. what the oil industry is for the Middle East. And in addition to selling war weapons, the U.S. now trains foreign armies in how to use them–which, in turn, spurs still more arms sales.

The U.S., also, is the most likely of the big powers to USE the Bomb as a last resort in the event that world capitalism should appear to be on the verge of collapse.

So, opposing war and working for disarmament *in the U.S.* is more urgent now than in any of the other countries where War Resisters International has affiliates. That's why War Resisters League must NOT be "going out of business."

by Larry Gara

The war is over. Hallelujah! Nothing should detract from the importance of the final withdrawal of both the direct and indirect United States military presence in Vietnam and Cambodia, nor of the peace movement in achieving it.

Yet the military system which made U.S. intervention possible is as pervasive a force as ever. The tragic events relating to the forcible return of the merchant ship *Mayaguez* (with an incredible, compressed version of the Vietnam war all over again), demonstrate all too clearly how the existence of a mighty military force makes new wars probable if not inevitable. We now face the largest military budget in our history, along with the development of such new weapons systems as the B-1 bomber and the Trident submarine. The draft is not dead; it is merely on a standby basis. Most Americans continue to think of military action as a legitimate last resort. That attitude, coupled with our terrible power, helps to make the United States the most dangerous nation in the history of the world.

The task ahead has a thousand facets, but in my opinion none is more important than speaking, writing and acting in order to draw into question the American Empire and the use of armed force to back it up. There is considerable disillusionment with the military, and many people are open to new ideas. The militaristic way of death and destruction has been thoroughly exposed. In a nuclear age the traditional pacifist slogan, "No More War" has special meaning. But a slogan alone will not do the job.

I think it is necessary to demonstrate the viability of active nonviolence. For the United States to turn away from war and other violence will require basic changes in our society and its institutions. As individuals and as an organization, we will have to work on many different issues at once, with a sense of vision that each needs to be dealt with in order to create a just society in a world without war. In my opinion, the most urgent task is to discredit the old, reactionary and now globally lethal violence and militarism and to promote active nonviolence as an exciting alternative for resolving conflicts on all levels. And if, in the short run, our goal seems too visionary, the effort itself, with its joy and hope, will produce its own reward.

by Randy Kehler

During the noon-hour today, in front of the military recruitment office in Greenfield, Mass., a group of us from Woolman Hill staged a street-theatre protest of Kissinger/Schlesinger/Ford's "measured response to (Cambodia's) high-handed and crude use of force, (in defense of) international order and civilized communication (sic, sic, sick!)" Greenfield's response was typical of the ugly, jingoistic mood in the nation as a whole: How dare we condone "piracy"! How dare we challenge humiliated America's right to token, albeit bloody, revenge!

Kissinger was quoted on the news tonight as saying that the Mayaguez incident was a good lesson to the rest of the world. There was a lesson in it all right–i.e., that the U.S. upon "losing Indochina", unlike the British upon being chased out of India, is not at all prepared to accept a new world role. Quite to the contrary, our government is prepared to use any means necessary to maintain its Numero Uno position in global power-politics. I was naive to have thought otherwise.

So what does this mean? It means that only one thing has changed: the U.S. has become more desperate, and thus more dangerous.

Granted, the vicious Mayaguez venture came at a time when the U.S. felt an overwhelming need to repair its Indochina-damaged national pride. But there's more than pride involved–there's hard economics as well. Long after America has found other ways to be proud of itself, the fact will still remain that Indochina *is* lost–that is, lost to American capitalism. To paraphrase a recent comment by a Gulf Oil official, "If the Communists hadn't taken over, Vietnam might have been the world's next big oil district–what a shame." The obvious conclusion, not only for Gulf but

(continued on page 4)

FARM WORKERS DEMO

Photo by Karl Bissinger

Here is the WRL contingent in the United Farm Workers big march in New York on May 10, climaxing National Farm Workers Week. Alongside the League's banner is a placard supporting the grape boycott (the grape season is just starting). Other placards proclaim the boycott of Gallo Wine and the boycott of lettuce.

Randy Kehler *(continued from page 3)*

for the whole of U.S. overseas economic interests, is that they must hold on a little tighter everywhere else.

Where does that leave the WRL? Where does it leave me? Same place we've been all along. Sure, there'll be some programmatic changes–e.g., we won't be campaigning to cut off aid to Thieu–but let's remember that *militarism* wasn't defeated by the recent events in Indochina. In fact, in this country, judging from the Mayaguez affair, it's on the upswing.

It's been said that militarism will be on the upswing among Third World anti-imperialists as well, but I don't believe it. Or at least not because the Khmer Rouge and PRG/North Vietnamese victories will be seen simply as vindications of armed struggle. The millions of human lives lost, damaged, and displaced will also be seen.

On the other hand, a viable alternative to military struggle won't be seen either–since none clearly emerged (despite the early successes of the Buddhists in toppling regimes in Saigon.)

I still believe in the possibility of successful nonviolent struggle against despots and imperialists, but the only place where I have much chance of making that possibility become a reality is right here. To the extent that I/we succeed–that is, succeed in nonviolently disassembling the American juggernaut from the inside, succeed in creating cooperative, egalitarian societies in its place–the easier it will be for nonviolent forms of struggle to emerge abroad.

by Bradford Lyttle

The ending of the Indochina War is the latest of three political developments within the past year that may be pivotal to the U.S. and the world. The first event was Watergate, which restored a balance of power between Congress, and Supreme Court, and the Executive, Ever since the end of World War II, this balance had swung more and more to favor the Executive. Impeachment proceedings forced Congress to "bite the bullet", find itself, and assert its rights in respect to the President. The "tapes" forced the Supreme Court to decide if the President was above or subject to the law; it decided for the law. Watergate emphatically affirmed that the U.S. government is a government of laws, not of men. However imperfectly this principle may be expressed, it is essential to the political liberties we enjoy. Subsequent investigation of the FBI and CIA, and Congress's firm stand against more military aid to Indochina, are healthy consequences of renewed belief in "the rule of law." At least for the present, the spectre of police state fascism that rose at the time of the "Saturday Night Massacre", has been forced to retire.

The economic recession, which has now become the most severe depression of the post World War II period, has shown that corporate capitalism, even benefitted by the most sophisticated controls of Liberal, Keynesian economists, cannot insure economic security even in the continental U.S. In the richest country on earth, poverty and unemployment are widespread. Under these circumstances, democratic socialist alternatives to corporate monopolies of economic power can seem realistic and desirable to millions of people.

The end of the Indochina War marks the first major military defeat for the U.S. armed forces, and the collapse of Liberal, imperialistic policies in Southeast Asia, one of the most heavily populated areas in the world, and one of the most gifted in natural resources. Thoughful U.S. citizens at all levels now understand that there are limits to what U.S. money and power can do. And, they have seen on their own television screens that a communist "enemy" can deport itself with far greater courage, responsibility, and even "chivalry" than one of our chosen and cultivated allies.

Out of these events can come a revitalized tradition of civil liberties in the U.S.; accelerated progress toward democratic socialism; and diminution of financial support for, and the influence of, the military. All these are crucial ingredients of peace.

But there could be a destructive reaction, too. Of all the power interests in the U.S., the one least likely to accept the verdict of Indochina is the Pentagon. In the face of socialist and communist victories in Portugal and Indochina, the instability and vulnerability of the U.S. economic system, and the military's diminishing influence over Congress, top Pentagon officers may feel their world closing in on them. To increasing numbers of the military right, an adventure in the Mideast, or even a coup in this country, may seem the only way to prevent a "communist" takeover of the U.S., and loss of the U.S.'s dominant military presence in the world. It would be the height of folly to underestimate the power of the Pentagon, or to assume that, somehow, the U.S. military is unlike the Chilean military.

Hopefully, the League, and other groups that make up the humanitarian "movement" in this country, will understand the dual nature–the fertility and the dangers–of the times. The League should: continue its pacifist opposition to the military establishment, and warn people constantly against militaristic adventurism and political subversion by the Pentagon. It should support all nonviolent tendencies toward democratic socialism. And, it should continue in the forefront in the struggle to expand civil rights and civil liberties for all.

by David McReynolds

Vietnam was a tough school with a ghastly tuition fee. Over a million dead in Vietnam; ancient societies incomprehensibly destroyed; 56,000 dead Americans; an American exile community and a community of prison graduates; thousands of Americans hooked on heroin (a by-product of the CIA's work in Laos, opium being the main cash crop of certain ethnic groups whose support the CIA needed). It was a war which sundered our social fabric, leaving a gun in the hands of Patty Hearst and sending genial Abbie Hoffman underground. No lesson could have been worth this cost–but did we learn *any* lessons that might in *any* way

mitigate the tears and heartache? (1) Every American boy who died in Vietnam will have died in vain if Americans do not realize that the Vietnam war was never about "freedom" but about a corporate effort to contain the forces of social revolution. In short, until we learn that the enemy of our people sits not in Hanoi but in the nation's Capitol, we have not begun to learn. (2) If we were not blind we learned the power of unarmed, nonviolent struggle. That guns work, after a fashion and at terrible cost, we already knew. But our movement was not armed and yet it brought down two Presidents, preventing one from running for a second term, driving the other from office as a common criminal. We compelled the withdrawal of American troops and cuts in American military aid. The Vietnamese, who committed themselves to armed struggle, did not despair because the war did not end after every battle. Why should we, committed to nonviolence, lose heart because we learned the path to change is not smooth and easy, but rocky, difficult, and exhausting? (3) Vietnam was like a ghastly, terrible illumination of our whole system, showing us who runs it, and at what cost. The sons of corporation presidents did not die in Vietnam. They were not drafted. They did not flee to Canada. The poor served, fought, and died—for the cause of Rockefeller. The Vietnam-caused inflation barely touched the rich but it has nearly torn the flesh from the bones of the old and the poor. Vietnam was no accident. Chile was no accident. U.S. support for military regimes in Brazil, Taiwan, South Korea, etc., etc., is no accident. And if Vietnam was not an accident, then the system which caused it cannot be "forgiven". No amnesty for the corporate state.

(4) It is more moral to change an immoral system than to protest its policies after they have taken effect. If we have compassion it must not only be our ability to see ourselves in our opponent—but also to see ourselves in the poor, the black, the aged who are crushed by our system. Isn't it time to speak the awful word aloud—socialism? A nonviolent socialism, yes. A democratic socialism, yes. A decentralized socialism, yes. But socialism. A humanistic structure that does not feed off the poor. The evil we see, and which we fought against in the Vietnam war, is not rooted in men and women but in institutions. There is nothing wrong with the Pentagon that disarmament will not cure. There is no evil in Rockefeller that the confiscation of his wealth will not heal.

BABYLIFT DEMO

Photo by Karl Bissinger

Grace Paley tells a reporter why we are demonstrating April 17 against America's final outrage against the Vietnamese people—the babylift. To make it more vivid, we are wearing Vietnamese-style hats. Many persons both in the U.S. and in Western Europe were skeptical about the humanitarian value of an unselective mass airlift of children. As Rev. Gordon Barritt of Britain's National Children's Home put it: "In simply sending planes and picking them up, you may be separating families needlessly. You may take the wrong children." In fact an AFSC Vietnamese-speaking staff member in San Francisco discovered that some of the "orphans" aboard the planes were not orphans at all.

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by Wendy Schwartz

The violence of the last three decades left a mark on the souls of my generation which will never be erased. We were taught to protect ourselves from possible nuclear attack before we were taught to read. We saw blacks bitten by dogs in the streets as they tried to exercise their right to vote, and our leaders gunned down in their prime.

We were the first generation to witness full-color war footage nightly on our TV sets, and the Indochina War became as much a part of our experience as any activity we engaged in directly. It was the first war whose full horror could be felt by noncombatants living thousands of miles away.

My generation's *rite de passage* into adulthood was our ability to come to terms with the violence around us. That the vast majority of us survived this psychological carpet-bombing is extraordinary. That many of us developed into serious radicals and responsible activists is perhaps a miracle.

But we did. We defined our alienation in political terms, and we expressed our agony over the War in Indochina on the campuses, in the streets, and in jail. We learned early that the heavens don't collapse on the heads of people who protest.

The development of the new American *realpolitik* coincided with our own growth. We have been privy to the unbridled arrogance of the government and the full force of its wrath. And our jubilance over the end of the War is tempered by the administration's reaction to it: the events here in recent weeks have in no way indicated that the policies of our country will change. In fact, they are further proof that our systemic analysis of the War was correct.

I don't think, therefore, that it's possible for my generation to retreat into complacency. We have worked too hard for peace—through much of our adolescence and all of our adulthood—to abandon the struggle now. Life in a peaceful world is our forbidden fruit: we will not be satisfied until we taste it. And too, validity of the "just war" concept hasn't been demonstrated to us in our lifetime, so we can easily accept nonviolent action as a viable method of resistance.

Now that the immediacy of the Indochina situation no longer saps our energies, we can take the next logical step toward universal peace: mounting a campaign for disarmament. It will, of course, be a difficult struggle, one which will require sustained action and a longterm commitment. I won't predict it will soon equal the intensity of the antiwar activities of the last few years: the seeming lack of urgency won't provide activists with the impetus the constant bombing of Indochina offered us. But our maturity has curbed the youthful impatience that provoked the more rash actions of the sixties, and I think we can develop the stamina a long campaign will need.

It's true that towards the end of the Indochina War some activists drifted off to find God or themselves, begin family-building, seek security; and that now the peace movement must compete for most-favored status in our lives. But the tragedy of that awful War will live deep in our hearts forever, and our resistance to violence will remain strong.

TRIBUTE TO A LONGTIME WRLer

by Ed Gottlieb

Don Harrington at the close of Sunday's service at Community Church April 13 offered condolences to Janet Codina and said fine words in tribute to Cicero. (He died April 8 in his mid-sixties). A memorial service will be held at the church, 1 p.m., June 22.

Cicero Codina was a WRLer dating back to the 1930s. Right up until the illness which preceded his death, he put in considerable volunteer work for the League. When WRL faced economic crises, he loaned money to tide us over. Cicero was one of Jessie Hughan's converts–just about the time he won a Golden Gloves award. He never would get up to speak at street meetings, but always helped us carry the platform.

We had some rough nights around 1930, mostly in Hell's Kitchen (the section of New York in the west 40s.). The plateglass windows of our headquarters on 7th Avenue were smashed with bricks several times. Marion and I visited Cicero and Janet about 3 weeks before his death. Ten days later, I spoke to him on the phone. I loved him very much.

Another Longtimer Dies

Orlie Pell, for many years WRL treasurer and a longtime financial contributor to the League, died April 11 at the age of 74 in Flemington, New Jersey, where she had lived since 1961. Like Cicero Codina, she had been in the movement since the 1930s. She was very active in WILPF as well as WRL, and was a director of SANE.

Speaking at a conference with Russian women at Bryn Mawr in 1961, she said: "Both Soviet and U.S. women want mankind to remain alive. We can do it if we learn to live together in peace. And we can do this without agreeing to embrace each other's ideology."

WRL ELECTION RESULTS

The following were elected to the executive committee for a 3 year term: David Berkingoff, Maris Cakars, Ann Davidon, Gwen Reyes, Wendy Schwartz, Joanne Sheehan, Allan Solomonow. Elected for a 2 year term was Lucia Vernarelli. The following were elected for a 3 year term to the national committee–Western Region: Claire Gorfinkel, Christopher Jones; Midwestern Region: Angie O'Gorman Calvert, Bradford Lyttle; Southern Region: Scott Herrick, William C. Wood II, Steve Sumerford (1 year term); Eastern Region: Jim Forest, Randy Kehler.

DAVE DELLINGER . . .

Photo by Karl Bissinger

. . . reads a chapter of his forthcoming autobiography at the WRL dinner March 22, after receiving the League's annual peace award. In presenting the award, Jim Peck, who has demonstrated and been busted with Dave many times over the years, pointed out that Dave has been a leader of nonviolent street action since *before* world war II. Jim stressed the importance of Dave's leadership role in keeping the big coalition demos against the Vietnam war nonviolent, despite the provocation of agents and their dupes.

JUST PUBLISHED
"MORE POWER THAN WE KNOW,"
Dave Dellinger's book on movement tactics–past and future (hardcover) . . . $10

"FELON" WINS RIGHT TO SERVE AS JUROR

In what ACLU attorneys called a landmark decision, John Abbott, a "felon" because of his imprisonment as a world war II CO, recently won the right to serve on a jury. The decision was handed down by Superior Judge Thomas LeSage in Los Angeles. Abbott is a longtime WRLer.

It was Abbott and Jim Otsuka, also a jailed world war II CO, who in 1966 won a State Supreme Court ruling permitting convicted felons to vote. The clause of the State Constitution disenfranchising such persons recently was deleted but legislation banning them from juries still is on the books.

THE TRIENNIAL

The 15th Triennial will be held July 12-19 in the Netherlands to discuss nonviolent political alternatives–ways of living, working and organizing. Applications should be sent directly to the WRI, 35 Rue Van Elewijck, 1050 Brussels, Belgium.

Selected by the National Committee as the five WRL delegates to the WRI Triennial are Ralph DiGia, Steve Ladd, Joanne Sheehan, Allan Solomonow, and William Douthard. Igal Roodenko, Grace Hedemann, Irma Zigas, Karl Bissinger and Ed Hedemann were chosen as the five alternate delegates. WRLers who will be attending the Triennial as WRI Council members are Ann Davidon, Randy Kehler, George Lakey, David McReynolds and Beverly Woodward.

REUNION OF W.W. II C.O.'s . . .

. . . will take place June 22 at the home of Tim and Grace Lefever, near York, Pa. World war II COs NOT imprisoned in Ashland, also are invited. If you plan to attend, write for reservations to the Lefever's, Rt. 1, Box 457, Spring Grove, Pa. 17362 or phone (717) 225-3456. The Lefever homestead has plenty of camping space for those coming Saturday and leaving Monday.

KEY LIST

WRL has what is known as a "KEY LIST." People on this list receive mailings throughout the year giving information on projects sponsored by the League and other groups. If you are interested in receiving these mailings and feel that you will be able to make use of them in local organizing activities, please send your name to WRL, Ed Hedemann and $5 to cover our costs of mailings.

WRL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all the causes of war.

☐ I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE.

signature

address

city

state zip code

Send to War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012